/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
● 18| fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "åla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a king-fisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[276] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "åla, åla" was very humble and urgent.

B 133 487 /200 cont./ ceased its raging in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilderness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

B *191 433 If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives. The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical requirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously, /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predominated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

B [281] [252] B0 433 [252]

B 181 825 Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakaïrí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world; he saw

/201 cont./

181 825 only that all creatures behaved essentially as he did, that they had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits; in short, he felt as though he were primus inter pares, not above them; he knew nothing about all those good things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in situational images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to tradition which is handed down by the parents by means of language. His myths and legends, which [793] to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred books with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would necessarily be only playful jests if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature, fashioned their world view. [532] Accordingly, their artistic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom; indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the buds. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

*171 174 241 On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agriculture -- except in the case of the Trumaí -- have been in the possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the languages furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Schingú belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the branching off from the basic people concerned took place

B /201 cont,/
*171 in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes
174 and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are
241 present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakaïrí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gês, and probably also an older
T [192] one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

B [181] Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of
B [773] hunters. The Bakaïrí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not
[261] know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift
BO [241] to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of de-
[153] velopment are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the
T [241] mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely
[179] more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them excellently tended, extensive plantings--

/202 cont./

excellently tended, extensive plantings -- finally, we see the rest of the Schingú Indians dependent on the produce of the fields, but in their entire thinking and feeling filled with delight in the original hunters' calling.

But, according to the schema, the process could not have taken place so discontinuously in steps and more or less intermittently. In order to understand this we must approach still another problem. The Schingú tribes had no metal. It is said that they lived in the "Stone Age."

Unfortunately, the study of the pre-metallic period has quite predominantly been built on the mute evidence of excavations. Thus, first of all, there was permitted to arise such a confusion of concepts that "Stone Age" and "prehistory" are commonly regarded as identical terms, although the peoples who have written their own history did so only after they had long had metals, and although, side by side with them and at the same time, there lived metal-less peoples, "prehistorical" with historical peoples. Then, however, /203/ according to our prehistoric finds, one could distinguish an older period, in which stone implements were made by striking and splintering the stones, and a more recent period, in which they were produced by grinding, and, not content to limit this process -- I am not saying this process of development -- to the areas where it was observed, but, generalizing the experiences, it was concluded that man necessarily, in order to obtain his tools, began everywhere by breaking up stones and then progressed to grinding them. Whereas prehistory ought to pronounce the final word and furnish the definitions for the explanation of cultural beginnings only where observation among primitive peoples reaches its limits, nevertheless today the reports from Alaska or from a South Sea island are predominantly regarded as valuable material for the prehistorian who delightedly sees his perspicacious interpretations confirmed by reality, and when, on the other hand, the traveling /Fig. 20 appears here/ researcher comes to a place where people are unfamiliar with metal, he cries out that they are living in the "Stone Age" -- a folly which became clear to me because I myself frequently committed it. If, as is

/245 cont./

associated with the older representation. In the field of painting, we come across such productions in the form of geometric ornamentation. Dots and dashes may be the equivalents of the old markings. But even such "simple" figures as triangles and squares, which one would think could be freely constructed by the most primitive artists, originated only through the stylization of representations, and, since they automatically recommended themselves to the technique as types, they easily won out over more complicated structures in the struggle for existence.

Now just a word about the motifs of our Indian art. They have been borrowed exclusively from the animal kingdom. Andree in his well-known /246/ article, "Das Zeichnen bei Naturvölkern /Drawing Among Primitive Peoples/,"* points out

*Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, n.s., Leipzig, 1889, p. 59.

that the plant only rarely plays a role and adds: "In order to arrive at an understanding of this phenomenon we need only remember that among our children, too, when they make their first independent attempts at drawing on the blackboard, animals and human beings in crude forms are represented first; the living, mobile animal is more apt to capture their attention, is also easier to grasp in its entire figure than the plant consisting of numerous leaves and blossoms."

This pertinent remark is in perfect accord with the relationship between gesture and drawing which I maintain. By means of gestures I imitate an animal, not a tree, and not only because the latter does not move actively. It is easy for me to express parts of the animal body by means of gestures, because in doing so, proceeding from my own body, if, for example, I wanted to depict a pair of donkey ears or some antlers, I would immediately indicate the position and the type of the organ, whereas I should be unable to express parts of a plant by means of gestures, unless I use words to help out. Among our Indians, however, drawing is only a special case; the animal motif dominates their entire

/246 cont./

*171 mental world in every art and science, no matter what it is
●181 called, and there can be no foundation for this other than their
825 hunting culture.

000 The material interest in the animal precedes the formal or esthetic interest. The flower in art is secondary, exactly as it is in ornamentation; first the feather in the ear and then the little bunch of flowers on the hat. I saw araucarias portrayed in the "picture writing" of the virador in Rio Grande do Sul. A palm tree would be just as easy to draw as a pine, but no palm in the north furnishes such indispensable food as the araucaria formerly provided for the "bugre" /wild Indian/ of that southern province. Before art went after bread, if I may alter the meaning of the sentence somewhat, it went after meat and fish. I shall have to come back to this subject, especially in connection with the products of the ceramic art.

*171 Sand drawings. They are at first a form of communication,
212 like words. I have spoken of how the descriptive gesture readily
532 and easily became a picture. Map drawings were the most com-
823 mon. Our second journey arose through the sand drawing of the arrangement of the upper Schingú, with which the Suyá geographer illustrated his statements, cf. page 126. "He enumerated all the tribes that are settled on the upper Schingú: in order to be quite clear, he drew the course of the river in the sand with his finger. To our greatest surprise, he drew the Batovy, the only one which he portrayed in this way, and, to be sure, entirely on his own initiative, with corkscrew-like, tortuous course." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/.) The Batovy, as we learned to our sorrow, was a true River Meander.

*171 /247/ We saw the same thing among the Kulisehu tribes.
212 The number, sometimes of tribes, sometimes of rapids, was
532 indicated by dashes. Circles were houses; wreaths of circles,
villages, corresponding to the actual arrangement of the circular
[126] houses around the large plaza. All these figures were also drawn with pencil in our book, while the accompanying words were taken down as dictation. A certain individualization, as in the

/295 cont./

GDD Auetö as the inventors of the woven mask and the maracha ornamentation. III. Other festival apparatus. Kamayurá dances. Dance clubs. Ornamental wheel, etc. Musical instruments. Whizzer sticks. Feather ornaments. Diadems. Games of the young people.

"The artifacts of the Stone Age are simple and fashioned only for the satisfaction of the most essential needs. With the art of shaping metals, the feeling for ornamentation and adornment is awakened." Thus writes O. Schrader in his excellent book, Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte /Language Comparison and Prehistory/ (p. 215), and something like that could have been written only by a distinguished philologist to whom it does not occur that such judgments, even when they refer to Indo-European prehistoric peoples, must be tested in the modern museum of ethnology. That passage has about the same value as one to the effect that man began to establish traditions when he learned to write. Though it is true that the satisfaction of the most essential needs is older than the development of the feeling for ornamentation and adornment, nevertheless even primitive peoples, without metal developed this to the full extent of their means; in fact, one may very well argue that, quite the contrary, it might often have awakened -- and could awaken because it was already highly developed -- the interest in metals in the first place. In the chapter on ornamental drawing and plastic art, I believe I have proved in detail what I stated about our Indians in a preliminary report presented to the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin /Geographical Society of Berlin/ (Verhandlungen, 1888, p. 386): "They have a positive mania for painting all implements, a passion for crafts," and I must now complete the evidence for the festival days when man quite consciously feels elevated above the satisfaction of the most essential needs and puts all his skill into the service of the art of adorning himself.

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] These furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, pinsí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and pinsí. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, komére, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the back of the
[324] yatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[82] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itsída. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[243] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itsída was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

[C.P. 73-A] After the trade of wars

over the chiefs organized wrestling matches between teams of the two villages. Before the visitors left, a feast (*tulikí*, swallow feast) was given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Bacairi claim not to have been a warlike people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a *chief* (*pima*) who was assisted by an *itífida*. There was no *chief* for the whole tribe. The *itífida*, who was a young man, was selected by the *chief* with the consent of the villagers. The *itífida* could be the son of the *chief* but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the *chief* the *itífida* succeeded him.

The principal functions of the *chief* were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the *chief* organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the village feared attack the *pima* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to undertake retaliation. Discussions concerning disputes and other village affairs took place in the ceremonial house. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the common action of the villagers. Exile was considered severe punishment, for the Bacairi say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairi, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a *chief* played in ceremonial life will be described later.